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Κομμώσεις και καλύμματα κεφαλής των αυτοκράτειρων, πριγκιπισσών και κυριών της αριστοκρατίας στο Βυζάντιο

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HAIRSTYLES AND HEADDRESSES OF EMPRESSES, PRINCESSES, AND LADIES OF THE ARISTOCRACY IN BYZANTIUM

It was very difficult for me to choose a subject for my contribution to the volume dedicated to the memory of my beloved professor and friend, Doula Mouriki. Not only because the sorrow caused by her untimely death is still fresh, but also because, having worked with her very closely for eighteen whole years, I was always able to guess her reactions to everything I undertook; this has made me even more hesitant, since this article is to be dedicated to her. The study of the ways the Byzantine ladies dressed and covered their hair seemed appropriate to me, especially since Doula Mouriki herself had written in 1984, while examining the white headdress of Irene Moutoullas: “a study of secular Byzantine costumes has still to be undertaken...”

This article is a first attempt to explain and to classify the different types of hairstyles and headdresses of the ladies of the Byzantine aristocracy. However, even this topic presents many difficulties to the scholar, because of the plethora and variety of the examples preserved, which goes to show that, like women of all times the world over, the Byzantine ladies found a hundred and one ways to express their feminine vanity. One of the most important written sources on the subject is the Anthologia Graeca, which provides a great deal of significant information on the ways in which the ladies, during late antiquity and the early Christian era, adorned and covered their hair. Valuable information on this subject is also provided by the texts of the Fathers of the Church, as well as by many other texts of the Byzantine literature.

Unfortunately, there is not enough information concerning the ladies of the court. The descriptions of the empresses in the historical texts are extensive, but not specific, as they are mostly of a literary character. For instance, a characteristic example is Anna Comnena's Alexias, III, CSHB, Bonn 1839, p. 140f. This way of arranging the hair can be found until about the 6th century. It was most popular during the 4th century and appears in many variations. The empress Helena alone is shown with fourteen different variations.

In the second type, the so-called “turban-like” hairdo, the hair is parted in the middle and plaited into two heavy braids which encircle the head like a crown. This coiffure gives special volume to the head and resembles a diadem. Helena often adorned her hair with pearls. The turban-like style, which was created by Galeria, was shown with fourteen different variations.

2. This article is part of a larger project concerning the hairstyles and headdresses of the ladies in Byzantium. It began in 1990, during the seminar on “Alltagsleben und Realia in Byzanz”, organized by Prof. Armin Hohlweg at the University of Munich; I thank Prof. Hohlweg very much for his very generous help and advice.
8. The so-called “Scheitelkronenfrisur”, Wessel, op. cit. (note 6), coll. 65f.
9. The so-called “Haarkranzfrisur” or “Rundflechte”, ibid., coll. 70f.
10. Ibid., coll. 70-71.
the hair over the forehead is cut short and forms a thickish roll sectioned as if arranged in very stiff narrow waves. This coiffure, that also characterizes some portraits of Helena on coins\(^1\), is to be found in the 6th century as well; a typical example is the portrait identified as that of Theodora in Castello Sforzesco in Milan (around 530) (Fig. 3).

The third type is similar to the style used by the women of ancient Greece: the hair is gathered behind the head and forms a simple small bun. Helena is the first to adopt this type of coiffure, while we also sometimes find Fausta represented in this way (Fig. 13, b)\(^2\).

These types of hairstyles and especially the first two, are to be found in sculptures of this period as well as in representations of ladies in frescoes and miniatures during the early Christian period. Even when the women appear with their heads covered, it is possible to recognise the coiffure under the headdress, especially during the first centuries.

The empresses diadems\(^3\) were originally wreaths, decorated with precious stones, which were placed on the head and sometimes covered by the hair\(^4\). After the 5th century the empresses covered their heads in a different way. Characteristic examples are the portraits of Theodora in Castello Sforzesco (Fig. 3) and of the empress Ariadne in the Louvre (ca. 500)\(^5\). Most probably these figures bear the hairdressing with the plaits which are taken up to the summit of the head; one can not explain otherwise the bulge the head acquires on its top. Over

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Fig. 3. Head of an empress, identified as Theodora. Marble (ca 530). Milan, Castello Sforzesco.

Fig. 4. A young Lady. Marble (6th c.). New York, Metropolitan Museum.

personifications of towns, as was related to the Roman emperor20. In the pseudo-Codinus (mid-14th c.) we read that the crown of the Byzantine empress is not identical to that of the emperor but has a different shape and has already been prepared earlier21; it is true that the crowns of the empresses in the representations in churches, miniatures and in other media, are different in shape and sometimes more impressive than those of their imperial spouses22; only in a few cases, in the Palaeologan period, do we meet a type of crown similar in shape to that of the camelaukion of the emperor (Fig. 13, d)23. Some 11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
18. According to Joseph Deër, these projections are a special characteristic of the crowns of the empresses and princesses; he connects them with the shape of the Persian crown: Deër, Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen, op.cit. (note 13), p. 419, 421. Also, idem, Der Kaiserornat Friedrichs II. Bern 1952, p. 26f.
19. For the evolution of the simple diadem to the type of crown known to us, see Deër, Mittelalterliche Frauenkronen, op.cit. (note 13), p. 426f.
Fig. 5. Desislava (1259). Bojana.

Fig. 6. The Virgin and Irene Gabraba (1067). Manuscr. gr. 172 (f. 2r). Saint Petersbourg, Public Library.

Fig. 7. Saint Barbara (1280). Church of the Panagia at Mou- toullas, Cyprus.

Fig. 8. Anna Radini (end of 12th c.). Church of Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria.
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details are worth mentioning: in some cases the hair under the crown is covered with a scarf or a net while in other it is not; the crowns are often combined with precious fabrics which either hang behind or cover the head under the crown and hang on either side of the face, reaching the shoulders. This garment, sometimes extremely elaborate, as we can see, for example, in the representation of the despot Anne in the church of the Holy Virgin in Dolna Kamenica (1323-1330) (Fig. 13, d)27, was very fashionable in the West for the married ladies, in the second half of the 13th century28. In Byzantine art it appears more often from the beginning of the 14th century and especially in the monuments of Northern Greece and Yugoslavia29.

Of special interest are the representations of the princesses and of the court ladies, as well as of the ladies of the provincial aristocracy. On the basis of the examination of a number of representations, especially of those of the ladies of the provinces, we can come to certain conclusions concerning fashion in Byzantium. Until around the end of the 6th century, one can observe two ways in which the ladies of the aristocracy covered their heads: they might either use a veil, under which they sometimes wore a mitella, in accordance with Roman custom30, or a fine scarf, most probably of silk, which covered all the hair like a bonnet. Characteristic of the latter type are the examples of Serena in the ivory diptych of the cathedral of Monza, dated to around 40031 and of the young lady of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, dating from the 6th century (Fig. 4)32. In both these examples the hair is given special volume and forms the thick roll around the forehead mentioned earlier. The scarf of the lady in the Metropolitan is held by a clip to prevent it from slipping onto the forehead33. The young ladies escorting Theodora, in the mosaic of San Vitale, also dated to the 6th century, cover their hair with similar richly ornamented scarfs (Fig. 13, c)34.

From around the 10th century on, the princesses — when they do not imitate the empresses, wearing the typical crown — must have appeared with a typical

24. E.g. the empress Irene, wife of Constantine Assen in Bojana (1259): A. Grabar, La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie, Paris 1928, p. 162, pl. XX.


27. Piguet-Panayotova, op.cit. (note 23), p. 224, fig. 102.

28. Ibid.


33. Ibid., p. 22. See also the head of a lady in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, ca 400 R. Delbrueck, Bronzener Frauenkopf um 400 n. Chr., BJb 150 (1950), p. 88, pls 2-3.

34. See also F. W. De ich mann, Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna, Baden-Baden 1958, pl. 36.
headdress: that is, a small round hat reminiscent of the camelaukion, with a small veil, whose ends sometimes fall on either side of the face. This headdress is typical also of the holy Virgins, in representations dating mainly from the 13th century onward. A typical example of this type is provided by the representation of Saint Barbara in the church of the Virgin Hodegetria at Spelies on Euboia (1311) (Fig. 13, f)\(^\text{36}\). This, most probably, must have been the official headdress of the ladies of the court; characteristic, for instance, is the example of Desislava, wife of the sevastocurator Kalojan, in Bojana (1259) (Fig. 5). Her round hat is fastened on the head with a fine, almost transparent scarf, which is tied under the chin. A delicate diadem with small arches has been placed over it\(^\text{37}\).

However, in representations of the ladies of the so-called provincial aristocracy, different kinds of fashion can be observed. During the 11th and 12th centuries we find a type of headdress in the shape of a trapezoid. In the manuscript gr. 172 (f. 2r) of Saint Petersburg (1067) there is the representation of Irene, wife of Theodore Gabras (Fig. 6), who was patricius and governor of the Eastern themes Chaldea and Colonaea\(^\text{38}\). Here, the enormous headdress is realistically rendered; it is obvious that Irene cannot bow to the Virgin because of the weight of her headdress. Could it possibly bear some
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relation to the "propoloma" worn by the «πατρικία ζωστή», mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennitus. In the ceremony of the «πατρικία» the lady could not bow to the emperor because of the weight of the headdress.

Fan-shaped headdresses are also worn by the dancing Hebrew women in the Psalter Vat. gr. 752 (f. 449v) of 1059 (Fig. 9). In the Epithalamion Vat. gr. 1851 of the 12th century (f. 3v) (1179) the Byzantine court ladies also wear fan-shaped headdresses with gold stripes; this type of headdress, perhaps of a celebrational character, is probably in relation with the "tufa", the crown worn by the emperor during imperial triumphs.

During the 12th century and simultaneously with the trapezoid-shaped hat, there appears a simpler type of hat, reminiscent, in form of a camelakion. The wife of the protospatharios Basileios in the cod. 60 of the Kutlumusiou Monastery, dated 1169, wears such a hat (Fig. 13, g). This type of hat remains in fashion during the 13th century and later, and is combined with different kinds of bindings, as we can see from the representations of Saint Barbara in the church of Moutoullas on Cyprus (1280) (Fig. 7) and of the donor Anastasia Saramalyna in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou in Cyprus (14th c.). It is also very often depicted in representations of ladies in Armenian manuscripts of the 13th century.

The portrait of Anna Radini in the church of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria (Fig. 8) belongs to the end of the 12th century. Her hat follows the fashion of the 11th century in the lower part and that of the 12th century in the upper part. False, dyed blonde hair made, perhaps, of lambs wool, hangs from the hat and frames the face. We should stress the fact that the women of this area still use false hair for their traditional headdresses; in

43. Spatharakis, op.cit. (note 38), p. 83f., fig. 52.
44. Mouriki, Moutoullas, op.cit. (note 1), p. 197, fig. 25; A. and J. Stylianou, Donors and Dedication Inscriptions, Suppliants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus, ΙΟΒ 9 (1960), p. 106, fig. 5.
46. S. Pelekanidis - M. Chatzidakis, Kastoria, Athens 1984, p. 22f., fig. 22.

![Fig. 13: a. Galeria Valeria (4th e); b. Fausta (4th e); c. Licinia Eudoxia (5th c); d. Despot Anne (1323-1330). Church of the Holy Virgin in Dolna Kamenica; e. A young Lady escorting Theodora. Mosaic (c. 547). San Vitale, Ravenna; f. Saint Barbara (1311). Church of the Virgin Hodegetria at Spelies, Euboia; g. Wife of protospatharios Vassilios (1169). Cod. 60, Koutloumoussiou Monastery.](http://epublishing.ekt.gr)
Pogoni, in Epirus, for instance, the woman, on her wedding day, places fringes of false hair, usually dyed red, over each temple. This custom seems to have come down from the Byzantine period. The headdress of Anna Radini marks the beginning of a new era, during which the headaddresses in some cases bear the characteristics of local traditional headdresses. For instance, close links with the traditional dress of the region of Pogoni can be found in the headdresses of Maria, the wife of the protostrator Theodore, donor of the church of Panagia Vella in Vougarelli, Arta (1281) (Fig. 10) and of Anne, wife of John Tsimisks in the same church. The headdress of Irene Palaeologina in the church of Taxiarchs Metropoleos in Kastoria (1356) (Fig. 11) consists of a scarf that covers the hair and is fastened around the neck. A string of pearls seems to finish the net under the headdress and on the head is placed an adornment, a band like a diadem. This type of headdress which is fastened under the chin and around the neck, is still to be seen in many traditional costumes of Greece, such as Macedonian and Thracian costumes. It is also worth mentioning that diadems made of coins or gold plaques and adorned with precious stones, decorate the traditional headdresses in many regions of Greece.

Together with the local character which headaddresses acquire during the Palaeologan period, a simpler kind of head-covering consisting of a white scarf whose ends touch the shoulders, characterises portraits of ladies related to the court of Constantinople. Typical are the portraits of the wife of Michael Tornikes (Fig. 12) and of another lady depicted in the Parecclesion of the Chora Monastery and of the ladies in the churches of Mistra, as i.e. the lady donor in the Peribleptos and the lady depicted with her husband in the south chapel of the Hodegetria. The scarf worn by the women donors in Byzantine churches in Crete is also white. It either falls to the shoulders or is wrapped around the hair like a turban. It is the typical white scarf, the "οθόνη" or "κρήδημνον" which the ladies traditionally wore over the net that held the hair.

In conclusion, we should note that, as far as Byzantine headdress fashions are concerned, every different style lasts for about two centuries, sometimes more. The change from a style to another was a slow process. Until the third century fashion seemed to be directed by the court. Characteristic in this case is the edict of John Vatatzes, mentioned by Nikephoros Gregoras, concerning mainly the purchase of fabrics and clothing. However, after the conquest of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204 and the parting of the Byzantine Empire into small states, the creation of local styles in headdresses can be observed; this fact was favored both by the loosening of the tight control of the state and by the disappearance of the guardianship of Constantinople. Sometimes these new styles in headdresses, perhaps slightly altered, continue to survive to our day in the folk costumes of these areas. At the same time, during the Palaeologan period, in representations of ladies related to the court of Constantinople we note a conservative tendency, manifested by the simpler and also more traditional types of headress.

Athens, 26 April 1993